

The World Tomorrow

AUGUST, 1932

First Century Communism

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS STEWARD

Clergymen Invade Industry

CHARLES C. WEBBER

Protestant Pioneers in France

HUGH C. NOBLE

Just How Efficient is Business?

T. SWANN HARDING

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The World Tomorrow Announces

THAT after continuing as a monthly for fifteen years, it proposes to begin publication as a *weekly* journal with its next issue on September 7th.

As a radical journal of religion, **THE WORLD TOMORROW** will endeavor to answer these questions: What can religion do to hasten the radical and pacific transformation of the present social order? How may pacifism be made effective in a world of violence? What contribution has socialism to make in creating the new society? What are the major differences between socialism and communism? Wherein does the newer capitalism differ from socialism? How may we secure a more effective relationship between religion and pacifism and socialism?

THE WORLD TOMORROW will concentrate upon international, economic, racial and political problems; and its function will be four-fold:

FIRST, to examine various aspects of modern civilization from the angle of ethical and spiritual values, especially in the light of the religion of Jesus, and to reveal the hypocrisies, injustices and cruelties in our present social order.

SECOND, to discover and advocate constructive and ethical methods of bringing about the radical changes—deep-rooted and far-reaching changes, not temporary repairs—which must be made in existing social systems before the new society can be created.

THIRD, to expose the menace of violence as exemplified by Militarism, Capitalism, Fascism, and Communism, and to promote Pacifism and Socialism, especially by seeking a more effective relationship between them.

FOURTH, to interpret the actual and potential contribution of religion in generating the vision, confidence, courage and sacrifice required to transform the existing society into the Kingdom of God on earth.

HERE is a distinctive field not being covered by any existing weekly publication. **THE WORLD TOMORROW** hopes that many thoughtful persons who are deeply concerned about the titanic conflicts now raging among races, nations, and classes—even though they do not regard themselves as radicals—will nevertheless welcome the opportunity to examine contemporary problems and evaluate various proposed roads to freedom from a different point of view from those presented in the conservative and liberal press. The editors, therefore, welcome readers who are not always able to accept the interpretations and conclusions presented in its columns.

Through editorials, articles, correspondence from its readers, news items, book reviews, and other unique features, **THE WORLD TOMORROW** will endeavor to keep its readers in touch with significant trends of the hour.

The Editors

KIRBY PAGE, publicist and lecturer in 250 colleges, is the author of *Jesus or Christianity*, *National Defense*, ten other volumes, and a score of pamphlets on international, social and religious questions. Some of Mr. Page's works have been translated into ten foreign languages. Mr. Page has crossed the ocean eighteen times and has visited most of the countries of Europe and Asia, where he has had intimate contacts with many of the world's leaders.

DEVERE ALLEN, for ten years an editor of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, and associate editor of *The Nation* for the past year, is the author of *The Fight for Peace* and the editor of *Adventurous Americans* and *Pacifism in the Modern World*. Mr. Allen is the Socialist candidate for United States Senator from Connecticut.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, widely recognized as one of America's most brilliant religious leaders, is professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, and visiting professor at Yale University. He is a frequent contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* and other leading journals, and is the author of *Does Civilization Need Religion?*

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, distinguished economist, is professor of industrial relations and economics at the University of Chicago. During the past three years Professor Douglas has devoted much of his time to a study of the complex problem of unemployment. His book, *Real Wages in the United States*, is the standard authority in its field.

A. ALBERT MACLEOD, executive editor, has been associated with *THE WORLD TOMORROW* for the past three years and in addition to his administrative work has taken an active part in the shaping of editorial policy. Mr. MacLeod will continue to have executive direction of the publication.

Associate Editors

H. N. BRAILSFORD, foremost British publicist, was formerly editor of *The New Leader*, official organ of the Independent Labour Party; and previously editorial writer for *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Nation* (London). He is the author of a dozen distinguished volumes on economic and political questions. His interpretations of events in India, the Balkans, and Russia, as well as his articles on the British scene, have won for him a distinction not excelled by any contemporary.

GEORGE A. COE, eminent educator, for many years a member of the faculty at Northwestern University, Union Theological Seminary, and Teachers College of Columbia University, is the author of *What Ails Our Youth?* *The Motives of Men*, and six other volumes. No contemporary ranks higher in the field of religious education. He is the chairman of the Committee on Militarism in Education.

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK, widely known Methodist clergyman, and professor in Yale University Divinity School, is author of nine volumes on religion. By special appointment of the Methodist General Conference, he contributed a page each week for four years to the various *Christian Advocates* across the country. Few writers in the entire nation have wielded so powerful an influence as an interpreter of the social implications of religion.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT, history editor of *Social Science Abstracts*, official journal of several learned societies, has been associated with *THE WORLD TOMORROW* for the past six years. Familiar with five languages, he makes it a practice to read carefully the foreign press and, in addition to his editorials and articles, will bring to the attention of our readers significant news neglected by other journals.

Contributing Editors

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The World Tomorrow

VOL. XV

AUGUST, 1932

No. 8

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Published the first day of each month at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 25 cents; \$2 per year; Canada, \$2.25; foreign, \$2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Who's Who

T. Swann Harding is the author of *Fads, Frauds, and Physicians*, *Degradation of Science* and *The Joy of Ignorance*.

Gustavus Adolphus Steward is an authority on religious trends among Negroes and has contributed several articles to magazines on the subject.

Charles S. Webber is industrial secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Hugh C. Noble, a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, is continuing his studies at the University of Strasbourg in France.

Hubert C. Herring is executive director of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America.

Charles Solomon is the Socialist candidate for United States Senator from New York.

Harold Fey, a keen student of Far Eastern affairs, has recently returned from his post as professor of sociology at Union Theological Seminary in Manila.

E. Merrill Root is a member of the faculty of Earlham College.

Paul Jones is student pastor at Antioch College.

C. Louise Gates is general secretary of the Y.W.C.A. in Toledo.

Edwin A. Elliott is professor of economics at Texas Christian University.

Richard B. Gregg is the author of *The Psychology and Strategy of Gandhi's Non-Violent Resistance*.

F. R. Scott is professor of law at McGill University.

A Survey of the Parties

will be issued as a supplement to an early September issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW. This chart, prepared by Devere Allen, will contain an analysis of each of the party platforms, biographical sketches of the candidates, brief party histories and the stand taken by each on every important question of the day.

Additional copies of the Survey for use in schools, libraries, clubs and discussion groups will be available at 10 cents each up to 10 copies, 5 cents each for 10 or more and \$4.00 per hundred. Advance orders are suggested.

The World Tomorrow

52 Vanderbilt Avenue

New York, N. Y.

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XV

August, 1932

No. 8

Editorials

The Omega and the Alpha

With this issue we have come to the end of THE WORLD TOMORROW as a *monthly* publication. The next number, in early September, will witness its beginning as a *weekly* journal.

During the terrible days of the War, at the end of 1917, members of The Fellowship of Reconciliation and other interested friends felt deeply the need for a voice which would express their abhorrence of the method of war and their passionate concern for a new way of life for individuals and nations. Under the leadership of Nevin Sayre, Gilbert Beaver, Hollingsworth Wood, Edward Evans, Harold Hatch, John Haynes Holmes, Rufus Jones, Richard Roberts, Oswald Garrison Villard, Harry F. Ward and Walter Fuller, the new venture was launched in January, 1918, with Norman Thomas as editor. After being published for five months as the *New World*, its name was changed to THE WORLD TOMORROW, in order to avoid confusion with a Catholic magazine having the former title.

Nearly 15 years have since passed, and our civilization is again threatened with an ominous crisis, the gravity of which can scarcely be exaggerated. At such an hour we feel impelled to express ourselves in the language of an editorial which appeared in the first issue of this journal:

When we come to consider the task of rebuilding a ruined civilization, what hope is there anywhere if not in the Christian Gospel? It still remains the one untried remedy for our social and international diseases . . . the redemption of the future is bound up with the root-and-branch Christianizing of the nations in their domestic life and in their intercourse with one another. . . . For the ills that beset our race the spirit of Christ is the one sole medicament, and what we need is that this spirit shall be enthroned in all human relationships, a single spirit governing not only the life of the individual in the simple personal relationships but the whole common life of communities as it expresses itself in art, education and literature, in social and industrial aims and conditions, in politics both national and international. That this involves a revolution is evident, but we are faced with this dilemma, that we must have *this* revolution or accept a revolution of another kind. For the spirit of revolution is in the world, and it is hastening to our very doors. But is this impending

change to be a dance of death or a pageant of life? It is for us to say. . . . We recognize we are setting ourselves to an enormous task—a hopeless task, some would say. But we set about it not trusting in our own sufficiency, but in the faith that we are led to our adventure by the will of God and that He will use us for His purpose just as He has need of us.

The times in which we are now living demand a sustained emphasis upon religion, pacifism and socialism, and since no other American journal is concentrating upon this combination, THE WORLD TOMORROW is being transformed into a weekly publication because of the added values of timeliness and frequency. An editorial staff of some 30 individuals has been assembled, and most of its members will serve without financial remuneration. Elsewhere in this issue we present the personnel of our enlarged editorial council, and give a brief outline of our new venture. One new feature is so significant that it deserves special emphasis: a department, "As Brailsford Sees It," in which this distinguished publicist will week by week interpret current events and trends in Great Britain and on the Continent. Our readers will rejoice in the coming of Paul Douglas as editor, and will kill the fatted calf because of the return of Devere Allen in the same capacity, after a year's "furlough" with the *Nation*. To the new members of our editorial circle we extend a cordial welcome, and feel impelled to express the conviction that their versatility will enable this journal to make illuminating interpretations of significant trends in our society.

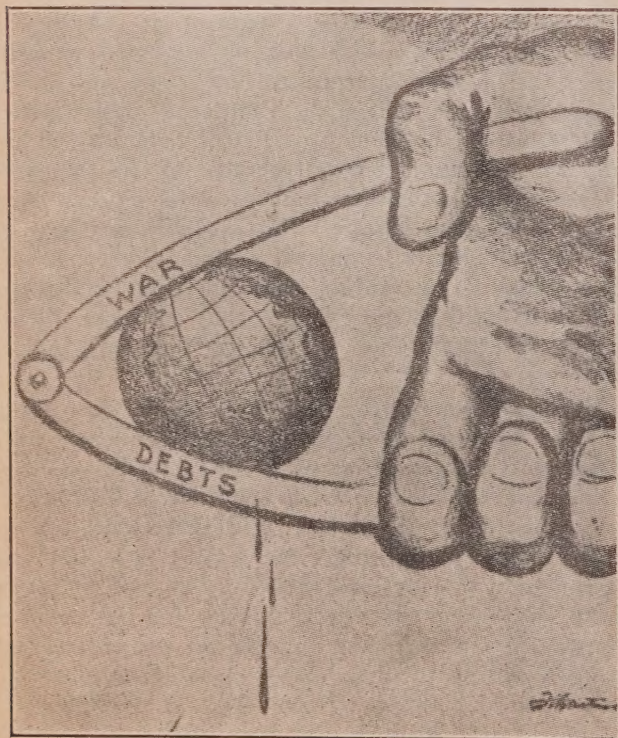
We are assuming the heavier responsibility of editing and financing a weekly publication because of a deep conviction that our philosophy and program of a spiritual revolution and a peaceful but radical change in the world's economic and political structure are imperatively needed during these critical days, and with a firm faith that our friends will coöperate enthusiastically in the endeavor to make this journal a significant factor in hastening the radical and non-violent transformation of the present social order into the coöperative Commonwealth of God. The blacker the economic outlook, the more urgent is the need for the message of religion, pacifism and socialism.

It Is Now Our Move

The last of the many "final" settlements of the reparation and European war debt question has been initialed and is awaiting ratification by the respective powers—that is, awaiting an agreement on the part of the United States to accept a lump sum in cash and completely wipe out the inter-Allied debts.

The Lausanne accord represents a political miracle. To have reduced German reparations to 714 million dollars is simply incredible! At the Peace Conference the French representatives demanded 200 *billion* dollars from their vanquished foe; Lloyd George thought that half that amount would be about right; the Reparation Commission set the figure at 32 billions; the Dawes Plan lopped off about two-thirds of the total; the Young Plan brought the sum below nine billions; and now Lausanne is ready to call it quits for 714 millions.

That this is the most momentous decision reached at any international conference since Versailles seems indisputable. The economic and political effects of the war debt controversy have been ruinous, and the prospect of having this ominous cloud hover over the world for the next half century was terrifying. While it is easy to exaggerate the favorable results of eliminating reparation payments, it may be said without qualification that no satisfactory solution of the complex and dangerous problems now threatening the nations is possible without first disposing of the reparation question.



—Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

With equal truth it may be said that the wiping out of Europe's war debt to the United States is a prerequisite to economic recovery and the establishment of cordial relations between the two continents. There is reason to believe that the Allies are willing to make an outright cash payment of a billion dollars as a final settlement of all wartime governmental obligations. The receipt of such a huge sum in a year of depression and deficits would prove to be of substantial help to the American people—and would make it possible to wipe the slate clean. The removal of the whole debt question from the international arena would enormously increase the probability of a successful outcome of the disarmament conference when it reconvenes some months hence, as well as furnish a basis of hope for a successful outcome to the world economic conference which is to be convened by the League of Nations.

This prospect is so intriguing that one wonders why there is any question that the United States will be ready to enter into such an agreement. But our public officials have been maintaining for so many years that we have gone the limit in making generous concessions and must insist upon the funding agreements being faithfully executed that the public mind is not prepared for the present drastic proposal. Fortunately, however, the administration at Washington has a loophole. While it is opposed to cancellation, it has repeatedly accepted "capacity to pay" as a valid test in determining its debt policy. Now that it is proposed to stop further German payments, and in view of the serious economic situation in which the various debtor nations find themselves, it may be possible to get Congress to accept a cool billion dollars and close the books. The alternative is repudiation, endless wrangling, less likelihood of disarmament, deferred economic recovery, and the increased possibility of further wars.

The peace forces of the United States have not faced in the past decade a more important and urgent task than the creating of public opinion favorable to a final debt settlement.

Liberals and the Democratic Party

In Walter B. Pitkin's *Short Introduction to the History of Human Stupidity* liberalism is defined as the last refuge of stupidity. It might be more accurate to define it as the asylum of futile sentimentality. Witness the liberals flocking to the standard of Franklin Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. All kinds of arguments are used to rationalize this futile gesture. Roosevelt is going to help the "forgotten man," though he is very careful not to commit himself to any definite policies. The platform harks back to Jeffersonian liberalism and the candidate pays homage to his "captain," Woodrow Wilson. We are thus to have a revival of Jeffersonian liberalism in domestic politics and of Wilsonian liberalism in foreign affairs.

The difficulty with Jeffersonian liberalism is that it is now thoroughly anachronistic. It is so completely out of date that the platform builders could not adhere to it consistently. In one paragraph they ask for "the removal of government from all fields of private enterprise except where necessary to develop public work and natural resources in the common interest." In almost the same breath they call for the state regulation of holding companies which sell securities, of the rates of interstate utility companies, and of companies which engage in the exchange of securities and commodities. The problems arising from the raids of the War veterans upon the public treasury are dealt with just as evasively as they are in the Republican platform. Only the prohibition plank is more honest than the Republican one, and it is probably also more dangerous, since no alternative to the present arrangement is provided but repeal.

The Wilsonian liberalism exists only in the vague phrases of the candidate. Long ago he scuttled the League of Nations. What is perhaps most ominous about his position is that both the platform and his private promises commit him to oppose debt cancellation. That was the price which he had to pay for the Hearst and McAdoo support which finally secured his nomination. The emergence of Hearst as a dominant influence upon the platform and candidate is like the apparition of an evil spirit out of the past.

The debate in Congress on the Lausanne agreement gives a clear indication of what kind of campaign will be waged by the Democrats against debt cancellation. They are going to accuse Hoover of having secretly agreed to cancellation and of withholding open consent to it only until the campaign is over. We rather suspect that except for the secret agreement this charge is correct. Hoover knows that the debts simply cannot be collected now that reparations have been practically cancelled. He is not courageous enough to admit that before the election; but his lack of courage is preferable to the lack of honesty of the Democrats who are going to fish for votes in the West on an anti-cancellation plank. If the liberals can find any consolation or hope in the Democratic platform or in the Democratic candidate, they are the most naïve of mortals. The sentimental idealism which the liberals are going to pour out in the coming campaign, the fake halo which they will place upon the brow of the little man whose persistency secured the Democratic nomination, the moral and political confusion which they will betray in their campaign arguments—all these prospects fill us with anticipatory horror. Though probably in vain, we hope that Hoover will be re-elected and that the Socialists will pile up three million votes. The Democratic Party, composed of Southern bourbons and Northern municipal machines of the type of Hague's, Cermak's, and Tammany Hall, and sprinkled with the incense of liberal intellectualism, is really

an awful monstrosity. If we cannot kill it, it will continue to confuse the political life and corrupt the political morals of our country for another few decades.

Third Party—or Fourth?

Affirming its "solidarity with the farmers and workers," the League for Independent Political Action held by far its most successful annual conference in Cleveland on July 9 and 10; adopted a crisp 600-word platform of its own; planned to back Congressional candidates in the fall campaign; and endorsed Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, the Socialist nominees for President and Vice-President. Although the meetings were held in a stifling heat which tested physical endurance, all of the sessions were jammed by the delegates and by the guests from Cleveland—a city which went for La Follette in 1924—eager to hear any political discussion which held promise of eventual relief from the humbuggery of Republican or Democratic rule. The amount of front-page publicity secured was revealing. Members of the L.I.P.A. came from widely separated regions covering most of the East and Middle West, with a handful from as far West as Utah and Colorado.

The significant decision reached by the League's executive committee to recommend support for the Socialist national ticket did not encounter the opposition that was anticipated by certain critics; indeed, while the L.I.P.A. declared that it did not "necessarily support every feature in the ultimate program of the Socialist Party," it considered the Socialist platform as well as the national candidates "infinitely preferable" to those of any other party. In fact, its own platform so closely parallels that of the Socialist Party this year that we are led to renew our wonderment as to why the League still feels a huge mass party of workers and farmers can be built up any more quickly than can the Socialist Party itself become a powerful Opposition. The League's answer is, of course, that the Socialist label is an unnecessary handicap; that farming elements have long since demonstrated their unwillingness to back a movement with the precise history of the Socialist Party of America and more especially of international socialism; and that the best strategy in work for a new political alignment is to unite the numerous present dissenting groups into a more moderately radical mass movement of which the Socialist Party may be the best-disciplined and most radical wing.

While in most of these contentions we can perceive some measure of truth, and while we can admit at least the possibility that following the November elections this may have been shown to be a practicable course, we are not convinced that it is either soundest in the long run or calculated to produce appreciable immediate results. If so influential a group

of liberals and progressives are radical enough to approximate the Socialist program thus closely, why should they not forthrightly announce themselves as Socialist Party members, thereby aiding in the removal of some of the objections they find in the lack of respectability conveyed by the word socialist? Our own experiences convince us that the old-time disgruntlement over ancient Socialist tactics and verbiage, as well as the name, has been swept away by the impact of the depression and by recent realistic trends within the Socialist movement itself.

There can be no doubt, however, that the L.I.P.A.'s support of the Socialist ticket will be a genuine aid to the Thomas-Maurer vote. We are indeed profoundly gratified that the League by this action honored itself and the Socialist candidates at one and the same time. But we confess that we should have been still happier if the League did not contain within it groups which, although definitely renouncing any flirtations with the old parties, have not been able to carry with them important elements in the Middle West and elsewhere in their adoption of a thoroughgoing program. We speak with particular regret about the pitiful spectacle of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, some of whose leaders, in an obvious bargaining that all too closely resembles the worst back-scratching of the old party machines, have been trying to sell out the movement to Roosevelt in exchange for illusory temporary advantage and prestige. If this is the best intelligence and the soundest integrity that can be expected from such a determined and articulate movement of farmers and workers, is not the uphill fight to educate these groups in the realities of politics fully as difficult as any task that faces the Socialist Party? In view of this threatened apostasy, and in consideration of the evident rise of the Socialist Party in general public esteem along with its rapid growth in membership and locals, who dares to predict with any assurance that the "third" party envisaged by the L.I.P.A. might not actually emerge, under the pressure of prospective events, as nothing but a fourth?

Why Not Income and Wealth Also?

A plea for "more equitable distribution of work" was made recently by Gerard Swope. "Today, probably 8,000,000 to 9,000,000 people are unemployed," he says. "Therefore, if all work were more equitably divided among those gainfully employed, each one should have at least half-time occupation."

Unskilled labor is now receiving, except in a few highly organized trades, from 20 to 40 cents per hour, or \$2.00 to \$4.00 daily for ten hours' work. Clerks and stenographers are, on the average, now receiving from \$15 to \$30 per week. If half-time employment is secured at these rates, unskilled workers receive from \$300 to \$600 a year, and office help from \$400 to \$800.

For some reason Mr. Swope omitted any reference to the need for more equitable distribution of income and wealth. Here is the heart of the problem. Jobs are scarce because the purchasing power of the masses is low and therefore effective demand falls far short of available supply. At the same time, investment capital on an excessive scale is lying idle because far more productive equipment is already available than can be profitably utilized. If the funds now flowing as dividends, rent and interest into the pockets of the privileged class were drastically reduced in order that more money be made available for wages and salaries, the increased purchasing power of consumers would create a more effective demand for goods, output would be increased and more jobs made available. And so we ask Mr. Swope: Which is the horse, and which is the cart?

Speaking for ourselves, we vigorously support the proposition that no individual should be permitted to receive more than \$25,000 per year while multitudes of persons are in want and destitution, and we are inclined to believe that even this figure should be reduced drastically. The economic and ethical arguments in favor of this procedure seem to us unanswerable.

Labor and Peace

Not infrequently we become impatient with labor leaders of this country because of their slowness to participate in the movements seeking to build an international society free from war. But the comparative advantage of the European worker rests in the fact that he has been exposed for many years to the teachings of socialism. To be sure, the world Socialist movement broke down under pressure during the War; but it is equally true that no large movement has gone further than the labor movement of Europe in an effort to bring about disarmament and peace during the recent critical period of alternating opportunity and frustration. Literally thousands of trade unions have sent in vigorous appeals for success at Geneva, the more radical groups calling for the overthrow of the capitalist, war-breeding system by seizure of power if only by such means can a new war be prevented, but most of them disavowing violence.

The provincial federation of trade unions in Almeria, Spain's most southerly province, has unanimously come out for complete refusal to aid or take part in any war. A recent example of a friendly gesture across tense boundaries is the sending of almost eight thousand dollars to German trade unions, for the relief of their unemployed, by the trade union center of France. Labor is not yet completely won for peace, but where it has become imbued with the spirit of economic internationalism it rises above the old feuds and outworn methods of the nations, and sets magnificent examples to the world.

Just How Efficient is Business?

T. SWANN HARDING

THERE is a hardy, perennial American myth to the effect that the government is almost miraculously inefficient and inept in all its attempts to transact business. This theory carries as a corollary the even more dubious proposition that American business is singularly efficient and economical in operation, and that business men can very easily set the government right at all times about all things. The writer's own personal experience of four years in business and industrial life, as compared with many more years of government service, offers direct contradiction; for he found all the efficiency and economy of operation in the latter and all the extravagant waste and talented stupidity in the former.

The efficiency of American business has been greatly overrated. In recent years American manufacturers have increased their efficiency in only one narrowly restricted, highly specialized sense: the average physical production per wage-earner has been increased. Nothing has been done to enable consumers to purchase this increment regularly. The immense cost of new and ever newer machinery, of extravagant and often almost idiotic experimentation, and of tremendous over-equipment has been disregarded. Uneconomic waste is really the rule in American industry during prosperity. Frantic speeding up of production results in unholy mergers in order to make gains by the sale of securities, but this at the same time brings into existence many technically and commercially ill-conceived economic units.

Business has for years been advising a reorganization of governmental institutions in Washington, and much reorganization would be well worth while, but has business ever thought of reorganizing itself? In industry there constantly occurs both the vertical and the lateral integration of production units so diverse in nature as to be woefully uneconomical, and the money flows into such monstrous mergers all too easily. Prosperity invariably leads to over-building and to a disproportionately increased capacity for production. Practically new machinery is scrapped in the mad effort to catch up with other manufacturers, and capital is used with marked inefficiency in consequence. New lines are suggested, developed, advertised and discarded without planning, and without forethought. It was an amazing thing to the writer to observe when he worked in industry that his firm, capitalized at only \$300,000, ignorantly and heedlessly put on the market a liquid antiseptic in an imperfect container, and rapidly lost \$80,000 out of plain stupidity. The slightest research investigation would have shown that the

containers would soon burst open, and thousands of dollars invested in machines, bottles, advertising, and labor would have been saved had the enterprise been considered as carefully as a new line of research is always considered in the government laboratories.

AS improved scientific and technological processes are widely applied to industry, the pool of the unemployed necessarily becomes larger and larger. Business loftily ignores this fact. Even the telephone company could not install dial phones without a decrease of 69,000 in the number of its employees. In 1869 we had only 1.14 horsepower per wage earner; in 1899 we had 1.9, and in 1927 the figure was 4.65. True enough industry makes iron and steel carry the strains formerly borne by human backs, but if all our blast furnaces were as effective today as are the best of them, the volume of pig iron we put out in 1929 could be produced by 3,000 workers instead of by the 28,000 then engaged in the industry. If all sawmills were as effective as the best of them, we would use but 45,000 in lieu of the present 292,000 workers; in coal we could in the same way use 420,000 workers instead of 750,000; in the boot and shoe industries the figure would be 81,000 instead of 200,000. We could get along with only 3,500,000 farmers instead of 8,000,000 if all were as efficient as the best. But how long will business elect to increase national wealth at a penalty of labor insecurity, rising technological unemployment, and ultimate commercial stagnation?

Between 1927 and 1929 there was an increase of 393,006 in the number of workers employed and the additional wages paid were \$572,828,522. This marked a material increase in the consumptive capacity of labor, of course; but in 1927 the total value of goods manufactured was \$62,718,347,289 and in 1929 it was \$69,417,515,929, a production value increase of \$6,699,168,640 with less than six hundred millions additional paid to labor to enable it to purchase this enormously increased output. In 1929, when the value of products manufactured was \$69,417,515,929, wages stood at \$11,421,631,054; this involved an output increase valued at \$8,887,941,814 since 1923, with a wage increase of only \$413,779,604 to buy it up. Obviously this cannot be done. In 1849 the wage earner received as wages 23.3 per cent of the value of the finished product and 51.1 per cent of the value added to the raw material by his labor; in 1929 the percentages were 16.5 and 36.2 respectively. Since business is ruled largely by the home market, the implications of these figures should be obvious even to

business men. Unless the real wages paid to labor increase in proportion to the increase in productive capacity there can be no permanent cure for unemployment and commercial depression. It is surely not efficient business to ignore these rudimentary economic facts.

No sane person would deny that speculation has taken place in government—usually, however, either when very unpopular laws were to be enforced, or when the business-man attitude predominated over the socially minded; but if speculation is brought into the picture, we would do well to turn to *They Told Barron*, or to *Graft in Business*. These books are both replete with success stories of business men who shrewdly and often most dishonestly profited by getting the better of others, at times even of their closest colleagues. Mr. Flynn has, in fact, personally demolished the myth that business is cleaner or more efficient than politics. He writes: "The average politician is the merest amateur in the gentle art of grafting compared with his brother in the field of business"; and he thereupon marshals example after example of commercial bribery, railroad wrecking, banking steals, bogus grabs, and corporate legerdemain. There is, for instance, the graft that one manufacturer pays to the superintendent of the factory of another to be certain the latter uses his product in manufacturing; this amounts to a billion dollars a year, equal to the government deficit of 1931-32, or enough to pay all old-age pensions needed in the United States and to leave a handsome surplus. It is the consumer who pays this graft.

BUILDINGS and automobiles may be considered examples of inadequate social service offered by business on a profit basis. Building permits decreased 20 per cent between 1928 and 1929; the cost of buildings for which permits were issued decreased 15 per cent, or from \$3,098,000,000 to \$2,663,000,000. But there was a 23 per cent decrease in the building of residences, while hotel building actually increased 150 per cent, or from a value of \$115,000,000 to \$284,000,000! There was a most sensational decline of 40 per cent, from \$867,000,000 to \$526,000,000 in the building of apartments and tenements during that same year.

In 1921 some 225,000 families were provided for by new building; a peak of 491,000 families was reached in 1925, and there was a decline of 389,000 provided for in 1928. We have about 25,000,000 families and our annual increase in population is approximately 1.5 per cent. The "normal" relation between the number of new buildings and the number of families for 1921-1929 was one dwelling for 100 existing families; the highest point reached was two per 100 families in the immediate post-War era. In 1929

we had 29,500,000 automobiles registered, or one per family. If we had produced automobiles at the same rate that we produced dwellings, we should have manufactured from 250,000 to 500,000 of them per year; yet in 1928 we actually manufactured 4,600,000, and in 1929, 5,600,000. Thus we produced annually about 20 per cent of the total registration anew, scrapping 2,600,000 machines in 1929, or 10 per cent of the total number registered.

Though we constantly renewed and scrapped good cars, and were encouraged to do so, we were content with living conditions so archaic that it would take at least 40 billion dollars today to provide adequate homes for those who need them. For one-third of our families still live in nine million homes which lower their resistance to disease and multiply their chances of infection—houses which are bad enough to be demolished immediately and whose cost to us in crime, sickness, and death approximates fourteen billion dollars a year. To wipe out these slums and to build decent homes would cost about 40 billion dollars. Our annual crime bill is 12 billions and our annual toll for illness about five billions. If our death rate could be reduced to that of New Zealand we should save nearly a half-million lives a year. At \$5,000 per life this would be \$2,500,000,000 a year. Hence if the taxpayers, instead of depending on inefficient private business which has used real estate as a mere pawn for speculation, should itself rebuild these nine million unfit homes, society would rapidly get the cost back in the salvage of human life.

As Dr. Edith Elmer Wood said, "Some day America will inevitably awake to the cost of bad housing. The wanton wastefulness of it will trouble the American sense of efficiency. As the progressive manufacturer ruthlessly scraps obsolete machinery so will the up-to-date town scrap its obsolete dwellings." Smaller and far poorer countries are doing this. Bankrupt Austria has done it. The city of Vienna has found governmentally constructed and leased dwellings a sound investment.

Just how long we may care to depend upon the rampant waste, inefficiency and stupidity of business is a question. What we really need to decide is whether it pays us to withhold governmental efficiency in order to leave land in the hands of private industry as its personal usufruct for boundless exploitation. Economic insecurity is rampant throughout the country, and the hopeless inefficiency and ineptitude of business in its own preserve of exploitation tends constantly to make bad matters worse. How long can we afford to permit this irrational condition to exist? How soon shall we elect to inject governmental efficiency into ignorant and wasteful business and decide at last that business must be made to serve social ends adequately and competently?

First Century Communism

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS STEWARD

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. . . . For neither was there among them any that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto each, according as any one had need."

THE foregoing citation is from a New Testament description of the early Christian community at Jerusalem as given in the account called "The Acts of the Apostles." It was once a favorite lesson for family devotions. Its social content was the foundation of family ethics. Its idealistic economics were enthusiastically expounded to penny-clutching urchins in by-gone Sunday school classes, while the society it depicts was formerly lauded by entranced sermonizers as that of the Kingdom of Heaven itself.

How often are these phrases heard today? What parent, however devout, would care to have his fellow Christians know that he instructed his children in this subversive doctrine? What clergyman, however consecrated, would dare urge his congregation to adopt this elementary share-and-share-alike tenet of the religious system he professes to uphold? The bugaboo of communism has terrorized into silence those whose vows commission them to advocate this fundamental Christian notion, and the so-called Christian nations, by means of ridicule, stigma, threats and the example of public beatings and imprisonment, are among the most energetic in keeping them quiet.

Christianity's self-betrayal in this particular is remarkable; for historically communism is to Christianity no new idea. Some form of common ownership of pasture lands, burial places, wells, and mountain shrines seems to have existed in the nomadic life of the Asiatic tribes which antedated the Hebrew tradition, and vestiges survived in the patriarchate reputed to have begun at Ur with Abraham. The Exodus was migrant communism. Thus, here and there, the background of the Christian religion shows communistic tendencies. To its Founder, therefore, this social plan was familiar, and all the more so as a group of contemporary zealots, the Essenes, consciously practiced it. Moreover it must have been a very desirable form of social organization, for the early Christian community adopted it; and as Christianity spread, communes of monastic orders arose and multiplied, and remain in existence to this day.

In the worship of the Christian Church the same idea was symbolized. The agape of the first Christian communities and the eucharist of today both have as base a common sharing. Indeed, all the ceremonies of the church; its teaching as reflected in stories, sermons,

hymns and pictorial representations, center about an equalitarian doctrine of universal human brotherhood. And this notion constitutes the distinguishing feature of that ideal society called the Kingdom of Heaven, holy commonwealth of celestial citizenship granted freely to all alike. Historically and doctrinally, therefore, Christianity is bound to the communistic ideal.

What, then, is the root of the Church's present heresy? Two motives characterize present-day civilization—the profit motive and the power motive. Since Christianity is dominated by this civilization, its attitudes towards social and economic situations and processes is determined for it. Modern Christianity, willingly or not, thus finds itself supporting the capitalistic system now obtaining, to which system the very appearance of communism is anathema.

As in the case of Ananias and Sapphira in the early Christian commune, there is always some person or some group unwilling to surrender individual prerogative for the common good. The hope of gain inherent in private ownership is a sufficiently tremendous incentive to prevent a pooling of resources for the general welfare. Today's capitalism has concentrated enormous wealth in the hands of a numerically insignificant few. The chances for profits these few possess are incalculable, and the profits, though momentarily slackened, have hitherto flowed into their reservoirs in an ever-widening, deepening and fascinating stream. Even though these owners of great riches may ostensibly espouse the Christian faith, they must realize that if its teaching on the distribution of wealth be pursued to its logical end, both wealth and the profit motive would have to be abandoned. These they decline to abandon. Indeed, any invitation to do so they consider sheer impudence, and they would fight with every destructive weapon modern ingenuity can conceive to resist any suggested compulsion that they do so. In supporting Christianity, they have managed, by the bestowal of rich legacies in money, land and treasure, so to entrap and entangle it in the economic structure which they have reared that it has no other course, on pain of strangulation, but to exhibit in varying degrees and numerous ways its own devotion to the acquisitive ideal. So long as the profit motive directs the civilization in which Christian nations live, Christianity will be obliged to deny its Lord by subscribing to the heresy

which bids each individual to take from his fellows all he can get.

AS the desire to make money has frustrated the consummation of this Christian ideal, so also has the desire for power thwarted it. Individuals, and consequently nations, seek to obtain and keep control over their fellows. Government places the individual under the authority of his brother, and because the one in power hates to relinquish it, that contest—called politics—which presents startling feats in recrimination, spiritual debauchery and the surest and longest way to say and do nothing at all, can still divert this bored and sophisticated planet. Armed only with an envelope containing a few pieces of metal and paper, those who hold the world's resources play with the destinies of millions. They not only enjoy the possession of this unprecedented power, but come to regard it as right and natural that they have it. They will therefore reject any hint which involves its mitigation in the interest of all. Hence a jaded public is never denied its thrills, even though a Lindbergh kidnaping or a Hawaiian honor murder does not present itself, because strikes, riots, wholesale sabotage, and greater social upheavals, with police and militia on hand to crack heads and riddle hearts, are always in prospect. The old diplomacy having been finally denuded of its solemn and flowery hocus-pocus, nations have developed what they call peaceful penetration as a slower but surer method of grasping their neighbors' throats; and that failing, they resort to man's most incredible stupidity, mass murder of his choicest males and destruction of his proudest possessions. The maneuvers of bespatted elderly gentlemen playing mental hide and seek in London or Geneva, the torrential sales talk of the natty go-getter in Shanghai or Buenos Aires which results in getting the signature on the dotted line, and even the crowning folly which kills or cripples the best of the world's blossoming youth are all moves to acquire power.

Once political power was coveted—an extensive dominion with the subjugated potentates remitting regularly to the central treasury. Now economic power is sought—the control of everything under and above ground by which man lives. And while Christianity now and then raises a feeble and futile protest through papal pronunciamento or interdenominational report, it is not only swept along in the mad rush for power, but succumbing to mob contagion, crowds forward, mingles its hosannas with the obscene huzzas of battle, showers benedictions, chants invocations, uplifts the cross amid pikes and pennons and creates for itself a place in the van of might's armored hordes. With only a suggestive nod from the power-hungry, did not the priest of the righteous Allies lately warring gloriously for democracy and the priests of the unholy Huns lately fighting to subvert all the virtues, obediently

address their Babel of supplications to a God each knew to be sufficiently partial to favor the side of the supplicant; while with fervent glow of piety, did they not outdo each other in masses and intercessions and holy processions to justify and sanctify the gory abominations of the unspeakable carnage the power-seekers forced mankind to endure? And right now, when another catastrophic move for power is plainly in the making, are not these godly persons tacitly encouraging the preparation for humanity's next bloody baptism by their hesitancy or failure frankly to declare Christianity's fundamental opposition to any policy which invades the common rights of all people? So long as Christianity prefers to share power with the powerful, just that long will it betray its Master.

The two concepts—profit and power—have wrecked the ideal of Christian communism which is implicit in the teaching of Jesus and which his early followers attempted to establish. A similar fate has overtaken subsequent efforts to repeat the experiment. At present mere mention of the word communism discloses to most people a repulsive chamber of horrors. Because the social organization now developing in Russia originated in blood and terror; because it has proceeded with callous disregard for many institutions elsewhere considered sacred; because—and mainly so—its significance is violently antagonistic to a capitalistic world, a world wherein profit and power are twin gods; and because the Soviet dictatorship has somehow got itself called communism, that word, together with its connotation, are damned universally, and by none more vehemently than by Christianity.

Yet it is well to remember that communism; that is, a society operating on a share-and-share-alike program, a society founded upon a doctrine of universal, equalitarian brotherhood, is the Christian ideal, the Kingdom of God. That such a society is perennially attractive is attested by the continuing search for it. Hence appear wistful accounts of the blissful existence primitive peoples enjoy in their communal customs. Hence humanity forever incorporates some communistic scheme into its way of life. The common school system of modern civilization is perhaps the most outstanding illustration. But if such a society has so far failed to evolve, if communism has never succeeded, that is because it has never been persistently and consistently tried, not even in Russia. Can Christianity yet escape from its captivity and try it?

To Our Subscribers

The fact that THE WORLD TOMORROW becomes a weekly publication on September 7th will not affect the expiration dates of present subscriptions, which will be continued to the first issue of the month in which expiration occurs.

Not in the Headlines

Friends are invited to share with our readers their own discoveries of significant news items.

Now One-Third

The number of banks in Chicago has dropped from 225 in 1929 to 72 at present, reports the *Business Week*.

American Legion Opposes Segregation

The Colonel Charles Young Post, No. 398, of New York City, recently passed a resolution protesting against the segregation of Negroes in veterans' hospitals in the North.

L. P. Gains in Canada

Five of its eleven candidates for the Canadian Parliament have been elected by the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba, four of the successful candidates being from Winnipeg.

Farmers Receive About Half

The general average of prices paid to farmers for all their products fell to a new low record on June 15, when it reached 52 per cent of the pre-War level, reports the Department of Agriculture.

Military Budget to Consume 58 Per Cent

In the Report of the Federal Financial Committee of the Round Table Conference it is estimated that 58 per cent of the total federal expenditures in India will be required for the military budget, exclusive of pensions and debt services.

Anti-Semitism Disappearing

After residing for eleven years in Soviet Russia, Walter Duranty, correspondent of the *New York Times*, expresses the opinion that Jews are no longer persecuted or discriminated against in that land. Indeed, anti-Jewish acts by Communists are considered counter-revolutionary and are punished by expulsion from the party.

State Capitalism in Germany

Since October over one hundred banks in Germany have received government aid and are now under official control. A controlling interest in the largest unit of the steel trust has been purchased by the Reich. Railroads have long been a governmental institution. Subsidies are granted to corporations in the following fields: copper, shipping, aviation and automobiles. Maximum interest rates were decreed last December. Everywhere the trend is toward socialization.

Alien Pacifists Not Desired

The Cutting bill in the Senate has been shelved by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Immigration with the comment: "The freedom that we have and the liberties that we enjoy have been won by the bravery and sacrifice of those of our ancestors who were not restricted by conscientious scruples from defending their country. These liberties can be preserved only by a readiness on the part of our citizenship to defend the Nation from every attack."

War Resistance in Belgium

Seventeen young men have recently been imprisoned in Belgium for refusing military service.

Secretary-General Henderson?

The *Manchester Guardian* reports that the possibility of having Arthur Henderson succeed Sir Eric Drummond as Secretary-General of the League of Nations is being seriously considered at Geneva. The experience of Uncle Arthur, as he is known to his Labour Party colleagues, includes a fruitful period as British Foreign Minister and the chairmanship of the Disarmament Conference.

Why Unemployment Insurance?

The following statements were listed by Senator Robert F. Wagner, as the nine primary arguments for a system of unemployment insurance:

1. The evil consequences of unemployment can, and should be, mitigated by the establishment of unemployment insurance or wage reserves.

2. Unemployment insurance or wage reserves, to be successful, should be inaugurated under compulsory State legislation and be supervised by State authority.

3. The Federal Government should encourage State action by (a) cooperating with the States in the establishment of a nation-wide employment service and (b) by allowing employers to deduct from income tax a portion of their payments into unemployment reserves.

4. Every system of unemployment insurance or reserves should be organized to provide incentives to the stabilization of employment.

5. The insurance or wage reserve system should be built on a plan financially and actuarially sound so that the premiums paid into the fund shall be sufficient to meet the obligations of the fund.

6. Compulsory unemployment insurance eliminates the competitive advantage of the employer who refuses to recognize his business responsibility for unemployment.

7. Compulsory unemployment insurance preserves the nobility of the worker and his freedom of action in attempting to improve his position.

8. Unemployment insurance will beneficially affect not only the workers, but agriculture, industry and trade; all alike profit from sustained purchasing power.

9. Sound business and good conscience both command us, in dealing with unemployment, to abandon the methods of poor relief, with its ballyhoo, its inadequacy, inequality, and uncertainty which are a drain on the sympathy of the giver and a strain on the character of the taker.

Clergymen Invade Industry

CHARLES C. WEBBER

THE increased participation of ministers and church organizations in strike situations on the side of the strikers constitutes a significant sign of the times. This trend is evidenced by the fact that in every one of the outstanding industrial conflicts of the past year representatives of the church have actively aided the cause of the workers. In Harlan, Kentucky, Arnold Johnson and Allen Keedy gave relief to the miners and defended them, and were incidentally jailed by the authorities for their participation. Paterson, New Jersey, saw Bradford Young and Spear Knebel arrested for leading a picket line past the textile mills. West Virginia coal miners, out on strike against starvation wages, had the assistance of Winifred Chappell in their unionization and educational programs. The woolen workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, fighting against a ten per cent cut in wages, were joined on the picket line by students from Boston University School of Theology.

In Allentown, Pennsylvania, 6000 unorganized men and women walked out of the mills in protest against repeated wage cuts which brought down their incomes below the level necessary to maintain a minimum standard of decency. After they were out many of the workers recognized that alone they could do but little to remedy their condition, that individually they had very slight bargaining power. In order to secure some equality with the manufacturers they joined the United Textile Workers Union of America and asked that the wage cuts be restored and that a collective agreement be negotiated. The manufacturers flatly refused, and a long-drawn-out struggle for living wages and industrial democracy ensued.

The clergymen did not ignore the conflict as they might easily have done. Three of them, the President of the Ministerial Association, the Catholic Monsignor and the leading Jewish Rabbi consented to serve on the Civic Mediation Committee. Day after day they conferred with both the manufacturers and the strike leaders in an endeavor to secure a settlement that would be fair and just. The manufacturers were obdurate. They would not concede a single point. The workers, though dismayed, were encouraged when they saw the representatives of organized religion striving for justice, and developed an unexpected regard and admiration for them.

This respect for the clergy was further enhanced when the Rev. Willis D. Mathias, pastor of the Emmanuel Reformed Church, allowed me, as industrial secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, to urge from the pulpit that the silk manufacturers meet

with the democratically elected representatives of the union and enter into a collective wage agreement with them. This action on the part of Mr. Mathias was not an easy one, as his church was trying to raise a large sum of money to pay off a mortgage and was thus dependent in a measure upon the good will of the wealthy men of the city.

Several other members of the Ministerial Association soon became interested in the strike. As they were most anxious to obtain first-hand information, they invited the Fellowship secretary to address their meeting and to give the results of his investigation of the causes and conduct of the strike. He suggested that in addition to supporting the mediatory efforts of the Civic Committee they do three things: first, invite the Rev. James Myers of the Federal Council of Churches to speak to them on the function of the church in industrial conflicts; second, make a study of the Allentown silk industry and ascertain for themselves the facts in regard to wages, profits, hours of work and working conditions; third, declare themselves in favor of the right of the silk workers to organize and bargain collectively.

AFTER some discussion this group decided to take definite action. As a first step they invited Mr. Myers to be the speaker at a special meeting of the Association. He came and made a strong plea for the observance of those sections of the Social Ideals of the Churches which deal with industrial problems. He so convinced the ministers that they unanimously voted to send the following telegram to the Governor of Pennsylvania, who was in conference at the time with several of the manufacturers and strike leaders:

Appreciate your efforts to bring peace to the silk industry of Allentown. Believing in right of employers and employees alike to organize and bargain collectively, heartily endorse your effort to bring both sides together for constructive settlement.

This clear-cut endorsement of trade unionism heartened the strikers greatly. It was the first time in the history of the city that the clergy as a group had taken such a stand. However, the manufacturers, although maintaining an organization of their own, continued to ignore the right of their employees to organize. They would neither restore the wage cuts nor recognize the union. The President of the Chamber of Commerce then asked the Civic Mediation Committee to disband and called on the strikers to surrender. The strikers refused.

Longer and longer grew the lines of men, women, and children waiting for food at the strikers' communal kitchen. At last the time came when hungry people could not be fed. A minister sent an appeal to the Church Emergency Relief Committee, a national organization of churchmen formed for the purpose of relieving distress in strike situations. The Committee immediately responded with a contribution, which made the workers feel that the church was carrying out the spirit of Him who said, "I was hungry and ye gave me to eat."

THE giving of relief to a group of men and women who were slowly starving for the sake of a great human principle brought its satisfactions, but the ministers could not rest content. They felt that another attempt should be made to get at the fundamental issues of the struggle. An official committee of the Ministerial Association, after conferring with the Governor, invited the manufacturers and strike leaders to meet with it for a reconsideration of the whole controversy. Seventeen manufacturers and over 30 strike leaders responded. The manufacturers came in a condescending mood. They held the upper hand and they knew it, since hundreds of workers, discouraged with their losing battle, had returned to work. An absolute surrender was demanded from the strike leaders. One of the ministers, however, made such a powerful appeal for social justice that the manufacturers agreed to take back all of the strikers whether they were members of the union or not, and to discuss wages and working conditions with committees of their employees.

This agreement, while it did not restore the wage cut or secure recognition, enabled the workers to keep alive their union, to re-form their ranks, and to get ready for another day. And when the day comes, as it surely will, that the manufacturers enter into an equitable contract with the union, there is no doubt that the efforts of the ministers in preventing a strangulation of that organization in its infancy will be recalled by the workers of Allentown with a deep sense of gratitude.

With the union saved and the strikers going back to work, the clergy of Allentown might have concluded that there was nothing more for them to do in the industrial field and might have turned their attention to their regular church duties. Mr. Mathias, however, feeling that the workers needed help in preparing themselves for the task of building a more coöperative economic system, joined with the members of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly (an organization of all the unions in the city) in developing a labor college. Courses dealing with labor problems and kindred subjects are already being given one night a week, and the workers are gaining knowledge which will enable

them to attack industrial autocracy, poverty, and unemployment. They are discovering the methods whereby brotherhood can be brought into economic relationships; and when brotherhood is achieved in the silk industry of Allentown much of it will be due to the fact that a religious leader became a co-worker with labor in a common educational enterprise of economic and religious significance.

The accomplishments of the Allentown ministers demonstrate what can be done in applying Christianity to industry. Through their prophetic preaching clergymen can present a vision of the economic order as it ought to be and can motivate the members of their congregations to seek aggressively for its attainment. They can introduce courses into the church school curricula dealing with the teachings of Jesus on poverty and wealth which will promote a searching analysis of the evils of our present economic system and secure an examination of the proposed ways out. They may so modify the social philosophy of the captains of industry that coöperation with the union will take the place of today's battle against it, thus doing away with one of the main causes of industrial conflicts. Under their leadership business men may possibly be inspired to develop more ethical forms of ownership and control of property, thus eliminating the necessity for a violent revolution.

How Cities Spend Their Money

Summary of Expenditures of 250 Cities during 1929

Functions	Per Capita Cost	Per Cent of Total
Operation and Maintenance		
General Government	\$3.67	4.7
Education	16.76	22.2
Police and Fire Protection	8.52	11.0
Health and Sanitation	4.34	5.6
Streets and Highways	3.80	4.9
Charities, Hospitals and Correction	2.78	3.6
Recreation	1.56	2.1
Miscellaneous	2.25	2.3
Total	43.68	56.4
Public Service Enterprises, City Operated	3.76	4.8
Permanent Improvements		
Highways and Streets	8.20	10.6
Education	3.72	4.8
Sanitation	3.33	4.3
Water Supply	2.01	2.6
Recreation	1.55	2.0
All Others	3.02	3.9
Total	21.83	28.2
Interest of the Public Debt	8.25	10.6
Grand Totals	\$77.52	100.0%

—The Business Week

Protestant Pioneers in France

HUGH C. NOBLE

VOLTAIRE can hardly be called a religious writer, yet the one time that he opened the flood gates of his full power was when he took up his pen in defense of religious toleration and freedom in France. With tremendous energy he poured out tract after tract in his effort to "crush the infamy" of ecclesiasticism. In one of these pamphlets we find the words: "Zapata, receiving no answer, took to preaching God in all simplicity. He was gentle, kindly and modest; and he was burned at the stake at Valladolid in the year of grace 1631." More than a picture of Zapata these words form a thumbnail sketch of the Protestant Church in France. Out of their trial of fire and torture has emerged a purity and simplicity that carries one back to the early Christian community. True there is still much dross to refine, but the leaders of French Protestantism have shown an ability to cling to the gold at the heart of the Christian gospel. Their primary concern has been the welfare of the human personalities to whom they were ministering.

In a secluded little valley in the Vosges Mountains of Alsace are five little villages grouped under the name of Ban le Roche. There, in 1760, Jean Frederic Oberlin consecrated himself as a pastor, and there he worked for sixty years transforming this poverty-stricken, ignorant parish into a growing center, with schools, churches, boys' and girls' clubs, night schools for adults and a circulating library. His churches were closed in 1790, but he carried on the work on the basis of a club organization.

In the course of his work Oberlin had appealed to a ribbon manufacturer at Basel, Switzerland, for help in obtaining winter work for some of the peasants. The manufacturer, attracted by Oberlin's simple gospel, responded and placed hundreds of peasants who otherwise would have spent the long winter months drinking and hibernating in stuffy cottages. Later this businessman's son, Daniel Legrand, came to Ban le Roche to help Oberlin. He left fired with the desire to do something about the social injustice practiced in the factories of his own city and in those that he saw while travelling in France.

Daniel Legrand didn't wait to be consecrated, but set about shortening the hours of labor, stopping night work, and starting schools in his own valley. This area soon proved too small for his efforts and his field of labor steadily widened until he became the first international labor worker. His efforts were directed along two lines: first, the amelioration of working conditions by factory owners; second, social legislation

regulating industry. Through a period of twenty years he directed appeal after appeal to his own and to other governments, and in 1841 he had the satisfaction of seeing France take its first step in the direction of social legislation. The resulting law forbade the employment of children under eight years of age and limited the hours of work of children between the ages of eight and twelve.

LEGRAND was followed by his grandson Tommy Fallot, who, like Oberlin, was a pastor. Fallot revolted against the indifference of the upper classes to the suffering of the poor, but, like many young pastors of our own day, he was not quite sure whether such rebellion was the chief aim of his religious work. Thought it took him several years to come to a decision, the work he did after he had made it gave him the right to be called the founder of *Christianism Sociale* in France.

His gospel was simple. There must be a transformation of the economic order through the regeneration and conversion of souls. His ideal for society was the Kingdom of God on earth, and for the individual, the life of Christ. The heart of his religion was Christ's emphasis upon the supreme value of the individual human soul. Legrand opposed the capitalistic system as such though he was not a thorough-going socialist: ". . . my conclusion being that the system is unjust and abnormal. In the place of profit for himself the capitalist must use industry to give others the privileges that he enjoys himself. Since he cannot be the equal of his workers he must be just and use his power to serve them."

BY this time other movements were stirring in France. Renouvrier and Secretan were spreading their doctrines, the former giving a social content to his individualistic philosophy, the latter calling for the maximum of individual liberty compatible with the liberty of others. Both saw the possibilities of industry for giving men the leisure to develop personality but decried the concentration of wealth in luxury for a few. It remained for Charles Gide, now internationally known in the field of economics to preach, from a Christian background, the doctrine of *Solidarisme*. In an address to the *Société Chrétienne Suisse d'Economic Social* Gide cited Paul's simile of the body and its members and pointed out the social need for solidarity. He stressed the absolute necessity of the individual's surrendering certain rights for the good of the whole. This surrender seemed so requisite to Gide

that it hardly could be called an ideal; the moral factor entered only when the necessity was lifted and men willingly coöperated.

Gide's ideas were adopted by the coöperative movement which had then been getting off to a slow start in France. The movement had been started at Lyons in 1851 but it did not really become a power until Gide threw his weight behind the work of Boyve and Fabre at Nimes. Its object was the elimination of class struggles, the establishment of social justice, a raised standard of living for the working class, and the replacement of a competitive economic state by a coöperative state. These ends it hoped to accomplish through the growth of consumers' coöperatives which would eventually control all production. While its ideals have not been fully realized, the movement has had a tremendous growth, numbering today 3000 coöperatives, with a total membership of more than a million people.

UP to this time Christian socialism had been hiding its light under a bushel. The doctrine of Jesus as preached by many pastors was both directly and indirectly socialistic in content and inference. A few men here and there like Tommy Fallot had made definite statements that to follow the words of Jesus meant the creation of at least a partly socialistic state, but socialism had not been openly received into the fold. At last a group of young pastors, deciding that there had been enough beating about the bush, founded, under the leadership of Wilfred Monod, Elie Gounelle and a pastor named Ragaz, *L'Union des Socialistes Chrétiens*. The church, they felt had too often supported capitalism, and they wished to "push the social message of Jesus into the churches and other institutions and show that socialism is the normal economy of the Christian life." It was their immediate aim to unite the Christians who sympathized with socialism with the socialists who sympathized with Christianity in a common effort to achieve the Kingdom of God.

In 1887 the Protestant Association for the Practical Study of Social Questions was organized, and a proposal was made to call a special conference to deal with social problems. The conference met at Nimes the following year under the leadership of Gides and Fallot, who made an appeal to "all who feel their responsibilities in the face of the suffering and perils of society to work for the application of Jesus' principles of justice and love." It was agreed that this large group should meet every two years but that the work should be carried on by a committee of thirty. At the same time a magazine, *Review of Practical Theology*, was started. This journal later became *Le Revue de Christianism Sociale* and, under the editorship of Elie Gounelle, is today the voice of the movement.

The Protestant Association for the Practical Study of Social Questions did not turn out to be as practical as its name suggests. Consequently, in 1909, the young Christian Socialists demanded that the next Congress be devoted to the study of social and economic problems. The demand bore fruit; the Congress met the following year and the original ideals were again brought forward but applied on a wider scale. Questions of democracy, social and international relations and economics were discussed in the light of the supreme worth of the human soul.

By this time there were many movements functioning along similar lines: simple charity organizations, centers for medical care, groups working for the suppression of drugs and liquor and for the elimination of prostitution, child welfare organizations and the actively working socialist groups. It was plainly apparent that coördination of effort was needed. To deal with this situation a grand conference was called at Strasbourg in 1922 which resulted in the amalgamation of all the organizations under the name of *Le Federation Protestant de Christianism Sociale*.

The movement has grown steadily in power, numbers and effectiveness. To appreciate its work one must keep in mind the minority handicap under which Protestants in France labor. They number about one million, of which 300,000 are in Alsace-Lorraine. Such a minority has a tremendous task upon its hands. The handicap, however, has served to spur them on to greater efforts, until today they bid fair to lead the Protestant churches of the world in the definite application of the principles of Jesus to their immediate surroundings.

Forgotten Men

The collage consists of several overlapping newspaper clippings with headlines such as:

- UNEMPLOYMENT KILLS ANOTHER**: Jobless, Kills Wife and Self. Wood Carver Had Been Idle 2 1/2 Years. Police D.
- Idle Man Slays**: Unemployed Since March; Hangs Self. Missing 24 hours. Lanta T. Mail.
- WOMAN ENDS LIFE BY GAS**: Buyer, Jobless Two Years. Offer Another Jobless Man Cuts Throat, Has 7 Child.
- JOBLESS MAN KILLS THREE AND HIMSELF**: Wife, Daughter.
- JOBLESS WORKER KILLS FAMILY**: Dies Rather Than Depend on Charity.
- Jobless Worker Ends Life by Gas**: George Haake, 50 years.
- "TOO OLD" FOR JOB. MAN DRINKS POISON**: 64, Tries Suicide.
- PREFER DEATH TO CHARITY**: Widow and Daughter, Without Turn on Gas in Philadelphia.
- PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 10**: Jobless Clerk Ends Life. Police today listed an suicide.
- IDLE, KILLS HIMSELF**: Former Head Walter at Embassy Club, Dies by Gas in His Room.
- Jobless Man Hangs Self**: Unemployed Since March; Hangs Self. Missing 24 hours. Lanta T. Mail.
- MAN LEAPS TO DEATH AT MUNICIPAL BUILDING**: Jobless and Ill.
- Jobless Clerk Dies by Gas**: Robert B. Mason, twenty-seven years.
- Can't Find Work, Tries to End Life**: Jobless Man Ends Life. F. Swilut, 26, a salesman.
- JOBLESS, ENDS LIFE**: Jobless Man Hangs Self. John Hogen, 67, was found by a doctor.
- 70-Year-Old Man, Jobless, Is Found Hanging in Cellar**: Which has been suicide.
- JOBLESS MAN POISONS SELF**: Jobless Man's Inability.
- Jobless Girl, Unable To "Finance," Suicide**: Man, Unemployed, Tries to End Life. 42 years old. 1400 Broadway, 42 years old.
- TWO JOBLESS MEN END LIVES**: Jobless Worker Kills Family. New York, Nov. 10. Jobless Man Kills Himself. Alden Courtney, 31, told his two children he did not believe.
- Aged Jobless Man Is Found Hanging**: Another Unemployed. Jobless Man Dies of Gas. World-Telegram, Oct. 19.
- Another Jobless Man Tries to End Life; Held by Police**: 44 years old. 128 Fourteenth St., was found.
- KILLS WOMAN AND HIMSELF**: Jobless Man's Inability.

—American Labor Legislative Review

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

South of the Rio Grande

American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations. By James Mor-ton Callahan. Macmillan Company. 644 pp. \$4.00.

The Coming of South America. By Henry Kittredge Norton. John Day Company. 300 pp. \$3.50.

Latin American Problems. By Thomas F. Lee. Brewer, Warren and Putnam. 339 pp. \$2.50.

Banana Gold. By Carleton Beals. J. B. Lippincott Company. 366 pp. \$3.00.

THE America which lies south of the Rio Grande is evidently due for rediscovery if one can judge from the varied output of books about Mexico and the republics of Central and South America. And high time it is that such a rediscovery took place, for there is gold in those hills—all manner of it. These four books represent the whole gamut of convictions, tastes and predilections of the Latin American fraternity.

Mr. Callahan in his *American Policy in Mexican Relations* has given a detailed account of our relations with Mexico over a period of 140 years. It is well written and gives one a satisfying picture of the kaleidoscopic shifting of the scenes through the days of Mexico's struggles for independence, her frantic and usually futile efforts to win stability, the events leading up to and culminating in the Mexican War, followed by the Gadsden purchase, the Juarez regime, the false calm of the Diaz dynasty, and the final phase of revolution ushered in by Francisco Madero. The reading of the book should lead to wholesome searching of our national conscience on our relations with our nearest Latin American neighbor.

In reading Mr. Callahan's book I keep thinking that all this is fine, it is well done, but it is an outside view. If Mr. Callahan could spend six months with Mr. Beals, sleeping on earth floors in Mexican patios, eating tortillas and dodging fleas, it would be an excellent thing for his next book. Even fleas have a vital bearing upon diplomacy. Furthermore, Mr. Callahan should read proof more carefully on his Spanish names. You cannot refer to de la Huerta as Huerta—they were two quite different people. You cannot refer to President Gil or President Rubio—their names happen to be Portes Gil and Ortiz Rubio.

Mr. Norton has written a revealing and charming book on *The Coming of South America*. Mr. Norton is my favorite among the journalistic espousers of the downtrodden bankers. He furnishes an excellent antidote for the anti-imperialists. Furthermore he knows how to observe and how to write. He has done an excellent job of making the great countries of South America stand out in relief. His analysis of their economic quandaries, of the political infelicities which spring from those quandaries, and of the resultant revolutions is illuminating. If he fails as an interpreter of revolution, it is because he is so thoroughly wedded

to the capitalist order of things that he is unequipped to understand why the heathen—or the socialists and communists—rage. There is little hint that he feels the pulse of populations long enslaved as they strike out against those whom they suspect of being responsible for their slavery. Mr. Norton in his solicitude for the American bankers and their friends fails to give due weight to the deep-rooted suspicion with which the United States is viewed in Argentina and Uruguay. He appears to wonder that Uruguay does not view our policy in the Caribbean with equanimity. At the same time he has a generous word for the sensible fashion in which the rulers in Montevideo allow everyone to state their case, no matter how violent may be the words in which that case is expressed.

Mr. Lee's *Latin American Problems* is a banker's book for bankers. That is the first impression one gets, and it is heightened by the fair words with which the bankers speak of the book. But this particular banker seems to be of a different order. He can write—and does write—a panegyric on the wealth of Latin America, the treasure which awaits the magic hand of the exploiter, but he can go on to a sympathetic appreciation of the lands and their people, and to the insistence that it is unfair to judge Latin American institutions too critically, that Latin America must be given time to develop in its own way.

We must know Latin America, Mr. Lee insists, for here is a vast potential market for the surplus of our manufacturers; here a storehouse of needed raw materials. We must know Latin America, for we have loaned them a billion, four hundred million dollars—and we will inevitably lend them more. We must know Latin America, for our political and economic relations will be inextricably tied together. All of which are good arguments for bankers.

Mr. Lee puts his finger on the basic economic ills of Latin America. There are too many non-producing political parasites. The land holdings are too large and inefficient. Public money is wasted. The land taxes should be increased, and the import taxes reduced. Labor is victimized, and the great majority of the populations are held in various degrees of serfdom. All of which is not only good banking wisdom, but good social theory.

In *Banana Gold* Mr. Beals has given us the best book on Central America which has appeared in many a year. Vivid, sensitive, and objective are his descriptions of peoples and places—Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, San Salvador, Nicaragua. It required ingenuity and a good stomach to make that trip to General Sandino's camp. Carleton Beals has been wandering in and around Mexico and Central America for a dozen years and he has the hang of it. He no longer grows excited either over the wordy proclamations of social redeemers or over the violence of ambitious Americans. He is a seasoned observer of things Latin American and knows how to discount the extravagances of

revolutionary fervor and the stupidities of wooden-headed officials.

Mr. Beals' book will be treasured by many as a delicious footnote to the Nicaraguan nonsense of the golden Coolidge age. The pictures which he gives us of his experiences with the "bandit" general himself, with the little men who carried the honor and the glory of the stars and stripes into the jungles, are unforgettable. But the Japanese shouldn't see the book, or they might search out another Manchuria. Perhaps, though, the parallel isn't fair. Nicaragua is such a little country. It really doesn't count.

We must not forget the pictures which Carlos Merida has drawn for *Banana Gold*. Merida is a Guatemalan, and greatly gifted. His illustrations add much to this attractive book.

HUBERT C. HERRING

Formative Factors in Politics

The Development of American Political Thought. By J. Mark Jacobson, Ph.D. Century Co. 723 pp. \$5.00.

Regulation of Public Utilities. By Cassius M. Clay. Henry Holt and Co. 309 pp. \$3.50.

DR. JACOBSON'S book is a valuable study in the relationship between political thought and the social and economic factors which underlie it. As distinguished from the metaphysical approach of those teachers of political philosophy "who make the clouds their classroom," Dr. Jacobson teaches that we can no more understand political thought apart from reality "than we can understand a polar bear apart from its habitat." Four main factors are cited as influencing political thinking—the economic factor, the geographic, the social, and the cultural. The book contains valuable source material and bibliographies.

Mr. Clay's thesis is that the regulation of public utilities should be left as far as possible to the separate states. The United States Supreme Court, through its power of judicial veto, exercises ultimate control over the states under the due process clause in the Fourteenth Amendment. The extent to which the Court has exercised this power appears in the statement that since 1921 it has invalidated laws in about 30 per cent of the cases before it under the due process clause alone.

One may well gather from Mr. Clay's volume that effective public utility regulation has broken down, as was contended by the minority of the New York State Commission on Revision of Public Service Law, although Mr. Clay maintains: "The Traditions of our government commit us to private ownership and operation . . ." He does not define these "traditions" nor does he indicate why they commit us to a policy which his book proves is characterized by confusion and futility. Mr. Clay does refer to "traditional American liberalism, derived from Thomas Jefferson," although Jefferson lived when there were no public utilities and was the philosopher of agrarianism, anti-industrialism and anti-urbanism. If public ownership is opposed to our "traditions," by the same token so are the utilities themselves. Mr. Clay does allow that "in various countries the principle of public ownership and operation has been adopted," but he says nothing of the results achieved. In Ontario, Canada, the generating, distributing, and selling of electricity, through municipalities, has for years been a successful public enterprise, the power costing the consumer less than on our side of the border.

The book contains valuable extracts from judicial opinions, reports and writings of scholars and experts. Nevertheless, when the author is done, there still stands out bold as ever the basic challenge: The people will own the utilities or the utilities will own the people.

CHARLES SOLOMON

Calvinism and Capitalism

John Calvin: The Man and His Ethics. By Georgia Harkness. Holt. 266 pages. \$3.00.

MAX WEBER'S theory that capitalism sprang from Calvinism is widely known in this country as well as in Europe. Weber, unfortunately, did not go back to Calvin for his materials, but contented himself with examples drawn from English Puritanism. Dr. Harkness here undertakes to fill in this gap by studying Calvin and his ethics. The idea is sound and it is well carried out.

For one like myself who has always regarded this theory with a good deal of scepticism and with many reservations, it is interesting to note how the imposing structure of Weber's thesis has crumbled and has been patched and mended until there is little left of the original outline. Capitalism, of course, was fully developed long before Calvinism came on the scene, and though various traditions and rules of the Church tried to block its progress, evasion was easy and the rules became dead letters.

Nor do the ethics of Calvin contribute anything new to the Christian scene. Sumptuary legislation was rather common in medieval cities and heresy was hunted down long before the Inquisition systematized the business. The middle class virtues were practiced by guildsmen long before Calvin, and millionaire merchants and bankers antedated the Reformation. When later the capitalist classes adopted Calvinism, they quite naturally applied the ethics of their leaders to their activity and thus created material for Weber's thesis.

Dr. Harkness concedes most of this; she maintains that Calvin's ethics, while by no means new, gave a powerful impetus to capitalism. This is probably right; even then, however, it is another modification of Weber's gospel.

Perhaps it is unfair to dwell so long on this point of capitalism and Calvinism, since most of the book is given over to a careful and systematic study of Calvin's life, work, and ethics. Still it was Weber's thesis which suggested this book and it is ever in the background. Much of the work done here represents ploughing in virgin soil, and the volume ought to find many readers.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

An American Problem

Philippine Uncertainty—An American Problem. By Harry B. Hawes. The Century Company. \$3.00.

NOW that rising nationalism has menaced the peaceful progress of imperialism in China and India, Japan and England are again resorting to the old expedient of ruthless military lawlessness to restore "law and order." In spite of the bloody futility of the policy which has led to the recent wholesale repressions, Secretaries Stimson and Hurley, Hoover spokesmen on Far Eastern affairs, are advocating that we follow the same road with reference to the Philippines.

With the Hoover administration committed to the program which is responsible for much of the trouble in Asia today, it is fortunate for America's future in the Far East that a few men in high places are raising their voices in behalf of the nascent peoples of those lands. One of these is Harry B. Hawes, Senator from Missouri, who last year made the long journey to the Philippine Islands for a first-hand study of one of our most important national problems. His six weeks' stay on the islands was twice the length of time any American Congressman has ever devoted to a similar study. This experience and the long years in Con-

gress during which Senator Hawes stood as an advocate of Philippine independence have borne fruit in a valuable book.

In *Philippine Uncertainty—An American Problem* an important American legislative official has deliberately stood in the Orient and looked at his native land from that distant hemisphere. The perspective he gets is refreshing. Unlike Messrs. Stimson and Hurley, the author is not primarily concerned that England's position in India shall remain undisturbed. His first purpose is not even to avoid embarrassing France in Indo-China, Holland in the East Indies, or Japan in Manchuria and Korea. His main idea is to save the good name of the United States in the Orient by a policy of fair and honest dealing with the Filipinos.

In the ultimate resolution of Oriental chaos, the action of the American Congress on Philippine independence will in the final analysis prove far more effective than all the notes of the Secretary of State about the "open door" in China. Senator Hawes' book is an important contribution to peace in the Orient, for it extends the principle of the "open door" to an Oriental nation which is resolved to achieve self-determination, through peace if possible, through chaos if necessary.

HAROLD FEY

Sun Yat-Sen Versus Communism

Sun Yat-Sen Versus Communism. By Maurice William. Williams and Wilkins Company. \$5.00.

MR. WILLIAM makes the point, and proves his case, that Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, as the leader of the young Chinese Republic, turned from his earlier, more favorable attitude to communism as the possible solution of China's problems to an evolutionary, constitutional socialism such as is held by Mr. William himself. He states the case for Sun Yat-Sen but not for China or China's youth, who more and more are turning away from the Kuomintang party and from loyalty to the leadership of Sun Yat-Sen to Soviet Russia as a possible ally and to communism as the only hope of delivery from the hated invader and conqueror, Japan.

In his lectures, delivered in 1924, Sun Yat-Sen expounded the three principles of Nationalism, Democracy and the People's Livelihood, which were to lie at the base of the new Republic of China and were to furnish the slogans or watchwords of the Chinese revolution, as "liberty, equality and fraternity" had for the French Revolution. In 1923, Dr. Sun, having studied under the American flag and imbibed Abraham Lincoln's principles of democracy, turned to America, the land of his ideals, and asked for help in China's hour of need. Our government responded, together with the British and the French, by sending their gunboats as a threat against Canton. Dr. Sun then turned in despair to the only country that would give to China the practical aid that she desperately needed, such as France had given to the Thirteen Colonies when she sent Lafayette and an army to aid the American Revolution. Russia responded by sweeping away the unjust and unequal Czarist treaties and negotiating fresh treaties with China as a friend and equal. She gave generous financial assistance, some thirty Russian officers to train China's military academy at Canton and, more important, political advisers like Joffe, Karakhan and Michael Borodin. Borodin reorganized the Kuomintang party, following closely the pattern of the Communist Party of Russia, and then proceeded to organize the students, proletarian labor in Red trade unions and last and most important of all, the peasants of China. Some of the provinces which he organized then are Communist to this day. Dr. Sun, before delivering his final lecture on the "People's Livelihood," read and assimilated Maurice

William's *The Social Revolution*. Dr. William supplied Sun Yat-Sen with the conception of socialism which renounced the class war and which tried to show that history is made and molded, not as Marx maintained primarily by producers in their growing bitter struggle which culminates in the class war, but rather by consumers as the determining element in society. Thus Dr. Sun's socialism was made to harmonize with his nationalism and democracy.

Maurice William in this book prints in parallel columns a great length Dr. Sun's lectures on the "Principle of Livelihood" side by side with his own *Social Interpretation of History* which Dr. Sun quotes and upon which he draws continuously. But there are two things which Mr. William fails to prove. On the one hand his *Social Interpretation of History*, while furnishing one of many valuable correctives to Marx's extreme dogma, does not prove his case that history is made chiefly or almost solely by consumers; and on the other hand, though he shows conclusively Dr. Sun's debt to his volume, he does not show and cannot show that it turned China into the path of a constitutional and evolutionary socialism or delivered her from Marxian communism, the class war and violent revolution.

If Japan occupies Manchuria indefinitely, as she doubtless will and if the Nanking Government is finally overthrown, it is probable that there will be set up in the heart of China a communist republic embracing five solid provinces, centering in Kiangsi and Hupeh, with a total population of over one hundred million in these five provinces and neighboring territory. History is being made today in China not so much by the lectures of Dr. Sun or the theory of Mr. William, but by unemployment, poverty, famine and flood; by the banditry and chaos which threaten China with a dictatorship of destructive communism more ruthless than anything Russia ever knew. Mr. William's book is valuable for library records but it is not one which "every reader should read."

SHERWOOD EDDY

Pageant of Color

The Negro Author. By Vernon Loggins. Columbia University Press. \$5.00.

IT is increasingly true that American culture owes much of its color, poetry, humor, mysticism—in short its sanity—to the Negro Race. We Nordics are by heritage a bleak people, and in us Americans especially there is an emphasis on the pioneer and the puritan, on action and acquisition. In our present minor decade, when the albino humanists are silenced by the depression and the superman has not yet come, we are especially bloodless and cerebral. What would we be if we had no Countee Cullen to give us a color as rich almost as Keats, or no Marc Connelly (scribe for the Negro genius) to give us *Green Pastures*?

It is pleasant, therefore, to find scholars recognizing our debt and writing about Negro literature. Mr. Loggins' book is written with a quiet but bold assurance; a solid, clear, pleasant style; a fullness of knowledge that is made living by a fullness of sympathy. It is no factual compilation by Dr. Dryasdust; it is a moving, human document of warmth and charm. One reads it because it is readable. One is impressed and convinced, because (with a common sense that is uncommon) it explains, sets forth, and evaluates the mass of Negro striving and the peaks of Negro achievement. The author knows that he does not have to speak for the race, but simply to let the Negro speak for himself. The result is a convincing record that may well awake even those who love—and thought they knew—the Negro.

We are shown a growing pageant of spiritual ferment and intellectual striving that, even from the first, sometimes resulted in abiding literature. The forgotten yesterdays of Negro writing are finely shown, and, seeing the "broad bases for eternity" that they laid, one can better understand the contemporary value and influence of Negro literature.

From Colonial days and Phillis Wheatley, through the growing turbulence of anti-slavery agitation, on through the dangerous expansion and dangerous contraction of sudden liberty and Ku Klux repression, and into the more philosophic years when the Negro began to find and recollect himself in tranquillity, we have the story of the Negro Author. Perhaps the book is all the more valuable because it stops short of the vexed field of the contemporary.

Here is a scholarly work not dulled by pedantry; a work written with fine sympathy, yet never either patronage or propaganda; a work sinewy and compact, yet readable. For sociologists and students of literature it is an excellent handbook, for liberals a spiritual arsenal, and for readers in general, a fascinating story.

E. MERRILL ROOT

Criminals, Outside and In

King Crime. By Collinson Owen. Henry Holt & Co. 275 pages. \$2.50.

Should Prisoners Work? By Louis N. Robinson. John C. Winston Co. 353 pages. \$2.50.

COMPLETELY different as they are, both in aim and in method, each of these two books should produce in an American reader a healthy sense of shame. In the case of Collinson Owen's book the shame will be somewhat tempered by pique; for in the process of portraying gang wars, racketeering and other forms of lawlessness that are certainly present in our society, the author obviously enjoys each morsel too much and tends to rub in unnecessarily the contrasting holy purity of English life and ways. It need hardly be said that Mr. Owen is an English journalist, and a good one at that. He has made the most of the wealth of sensational material that is at hand and it is likely that his English readers will eagerly accept his picture of life in America as a substitute for the cowboy and Indian stereotype which has begun to be somewhat suspect.

One would never imagine from Mr. Owen's account that there could be over one hundred thousand inmates in our state and federal penal institutions. It is true, however; although what we do with them after we get them there is another sad story. One phase of this question is carefully examined by Dr. Louis N. Robinson, an expert penologist, in his *Should Prisoners Work?* The book traces the extent and causes of unemployment in our prisons, discusses the different systems under which prison labor is conducted and concludes with an examination of wages, costs and the kinds of work suitable to prisoners. It is an extremely valuable study in a field where statistics are scanty and unreliable. In spite of the fact that employment, properly handled, is obviously good both for the prisoners and the state, Dr. Robinson estimates that 50 per cent of the inmates of our state and federal prisons and 75 per cent of those in institutions for misdemeanants are idle, and he lays the chief blame upon "the absence of any settled public opinion in favor of adequate work." This sane marshalling of the facts should help to correct a serious evil in our penal system.

PAUL JONES

Women and Children Under the Soviet

Protection of Women and Children in Soviet Russia. By Alice Withrow Field. Dutton and Company. \$3.00.

NO educator or social worker can be indifferent to the valuable material in this book. Mrs. Field clearly states the aims of the Soviet Union relating to women and children, and translates and explains the application of laws on the subject. Here is excellent material on the *crèche* and the kindergarten, with charts of activities and routine. Posters are translated and all phases of the work of the Institute for the Protection of Women and Children are carefully presented.

The book holds particular interest for those who are concerned with the fabric of society and the forces that change it. Mrs. Field dispels a common misconception about Russian family life when she shows that "the Russians seem to care for their children above everything in their lives." The care and training of children is of primary concern to the state, for the sake of its own future, and in this work the help of father as well as mother is enlisted. A basis of coöperation and social interest is stressed in all activities with the avowed purpose of building a state of socially-minded individuals. If coöperation becomes a matter of habit in early training, it seems reasonable to expect that social advantage will inevitably follow. For the building of a society based on coöperative, collective ideas the Soviet government is emphasizing the training of its children, and consistently plans every program in school and *crèche* toward that ideal.

Mrs. Field took to her study in Russia the experience of work in child psychology and training in this and in European countries, and has been able to see through experiments, sometimes crude, sometimes highly scientific, to the heart of the ideal motivating them. There is much in this volume to make one think, and the author compliments the reader by expecting him to do his own thinking.

C. LOUISE GATES

Paying the Piper

The Costs of the World War to the American People. By John Maurice Clark. Yale University Press. \$3.50.

THOSE who desire interesting and authoritative information on the economic consequences of war should have at hand *The Costs of the World War to the American People*, by John Maurice Clark. This comprehensive work traces our economic status from 1913 through the period of neutrality, through the War operations, and on through the current depression up to the date of publication.

In answer to the question, "Have we been richer or poorer since the War than we should have been if the world had remained at peace?" the author states, "It is possible, though far from certain, that the peak of our post-War prosperity was not only the highest in our history but higher than anything we should have experienced if there had been no war. But it is also morally certain that the depressions of 1921 and 1930 cut deeper than any that would have occurred if the War had not disrupted the economic life of the world, and with every week that the depression continues the moral certainty increases that the effect of the War in deepening the depression outweighs its conjectural effect in heightening our post-War boom; and that we have on the average been poorer since 1919 than we should have been if peace had continued. It is even possible that we have been poorer since 1922."

It is obvious to the observer that every week the depression lasts there is (1) an increase in the interest burden of our domestic

war debt and further postponement of payment, (2) less likelihood of repayment of foreign debts and (3) an increase in the degree to which this depression is to be regarded as a result of the War. This prolongation of the depression would require a revision of the book on all these points were it rewritten today.

By weighing the gains and losses that resulted from the conflict the author negates the charge that the United States made a profit out of the War and affirms that the foundation of prosperity lies not in war but in peace.

EDWIN A. ELLIOTT.

India From Many Angles

Naked Faquir. By Robert Bernays. Henry Holt. \$3.00.

The Indian Ferment. By H. G. Alexander. Williams & Norgate. London. 7s. 6d.

The Indian Peasant Uprooted. By Margaret Read. Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.50.

Rise of the Christian Power in India. By Major B. D. Basu. R. Chatterjee, Calcutta. Second edition. Fifteen rupees.

MR. BERNAYS is lively and vivid, entertaining and gossipy, shrewd and honest within the limits of his extensive ignorance. He was in India as a journalist and a friend of government officials at the time of the Gandhi-Irwin pact. Much of *Naked Faquir* might have been more accurately entitled "Pride and Prejudice." It is a better picture of the mind and heart of its author than of the minds and hearts of Indians. Mr. Bernays misinterprets Gandhi's love of truth as vainness. He condemns the extravagances of Indian princes who "are being supported by the annas of men who cannot afford to give their families more than one meal a day" but he conveniently forgets who pays for the ostentatious display of the British, and proudly calls it "a great show." Yet the book is worth reading, because the thinking of British members of Parliament like Mr. Bernays is at present one element in the problems of India.

Mr. Horace G. Alexander, an English Quaker, spent about six months traveling over much of India in 1927 and 1928. *The Indian Ferment* is the record of his impressions. It is quiet, thoughtful, sensitive and honest. The chapter on Mr. Gandhi and his *ashram* is good. The author understands how and why moral principles are more important in the Indian situation than any purely political considerations. It is refreshing to find an Englishman who has humility and courage to admit unequivocally that the British have committed and are committing great wrongs and injustices in India and who wants to have British control cease.

Miss Read has skillfully boiled down the eighteen-volume report of the recent Royal Commission on Labour in India, and translated the statistics into more human terms. She has attempted to show a little of what the individual lives of Indian industrial workers are like, discussing them one industry at a time. *The Indian Peasant Uprooted* is far more readable and interesting to the layman than any formal report could be and gives a partial understanding of the terrible poverty and hardships of the relatively small industrialized section of the Indian population.

Most histories of India have been written by Englishmen. *Rise of the Christian Power in India* is written by an Indian. It is frankly partisan and hostile to Britain. If that fact raises doubts among some as to its reliability, I would recall William James's reported saying: "Anyone who pretends to be neutral writes himself down here as a fool and a sham." I am not

competent to assess the value of Major Basu's work by accepted historical standards. Though confined to only one period, it 1,000 pages long, and I can see that immense research has gone into it. A Saxon chronicler in England about 1100 A. D. would have given a far different story from that of a Norman. From opposing statements time will winnow out any mistakes.

RICHARD B. GREGG

Communists in the Making

New Minds: New Men? The Emergence of the Soviet Citizen.

By Thomas Woody. Macmillan Company. \$4.00.

THE education of the Soviet citizen is a relentless process. The young baby of two months is left in the factory *crèche* while his mother tends a machine; he learns collectivist habits beneath a photograph of the child Lenin. Between the ages of three and eight he attends the kindergarten or the "hearth," which is considered the proper place for "inculcating the materialistic view of the world." Then come the labor schools, carrying him to the age of eighteen, and the universities, with a complete Marxian ideology as the basis for all study. Besides these regular scholastic institutions there are the agencies of political education—Octobrists, Pioneers, Komsomols, and party schools for adults. The semi-finished product of these "citizen factories" is then brought to a fine polish by the continuous influence of clubs, libraries, "red corners," reading huts, radio, movies, sports, the press and the stage. Meanwhile, practical experience in socialism is gained from working in a factory or collective farm. Not a minute without a purpose; not an activity unplanned. It sounds grim to us—until we realize that behind our own institutions from schools where children doing arithmetic calculate how much profit a merchant can make on a transaction, to movies dominated by the Hollywood ethic, there is an almost identical process of indoctrination going on, though for an opposing set of ideas.

New Minds: New Men? makes very interesting reading. Mr. Woody is matter-of-fact: he avoids the easy apostrophes on this "great new experiment." He has seen the schools whose curriculum he describes; he has watched the Pioneers and the young atheists at their meetings and activities. His account is packed with material, examples, incidents and reports selected from state documents and from his own experience. He does not confine himself to official education but studies also the extra-scholastic activities which have an educational purpose, so that through the book we survey the entire Soviet Union from a new angle. We are shown what the children read; how a Komsomol organizes his time; the program of the women's clubs in the Eastern republics; youths at play; the new woman.

Mr. Woody finds twelve characteristics of the new mind. It accepts dictatorship. It is militant, believing force to be inevitable and desirable. It is activist, striving always to "function energetically." It is classless in theory, despite the obvious existence of classes in the Union. It believes in universal labor. It is atheist and materialist; not a single school was found without its organized atheists. It is political, instruction in communism being compulsory. It is collectivist. It is non-nationalistic, in the sense that it overreaches racial boundaries, and international in that it sees the class struggle in terms of the world. It is, finally, healthy and sexless, aiming to be strong for the work of socialism, and admitting no inequalities between man and woman. Of these elements is the new human being to be compounded.

It is important to note the question mark in the title. Will new men result from this brave new world? Mr. Woody does

not bother the reader with idle speculation; he is content to describe the novel design in mental patterns as fairly as possible, and to leave the final answer as to its effect on human nature where it belongs—to the future.

F. R. SCOTT

WE RECOMMEND

The Horror of It. By Frederick A. Barber. Brewer, Warren and Putnam. \$1.50. Camera records of war's gruesome glories. More than one hundred pictures of ghastly mutilation and horrible devastation.

Socialist Planned Economy in the Soviet Union, edited by V. Ossinsky. International Publishers. \$1.50. A symposium embracing discussions on the premises, nature and formation of social-economic planning in the Soviet Union, the Five Year Plan, Russia's cultivation of agriculture, and labor under the U. S. S. R. These brief but valuable papers were written for the International Planned Economic Congress at Amsterdam by the delegation from the Soviet Union.

Christian Social Action Movement Leaders' Handbook. Published by Social Action Conference Movement, 740 Rush Street, Chicago. Fifteen cents. Here is an invaluable pamphlet of 80 pages containing the findings of a conference of liberal and radical Methodists recently held in Chicago. Contains valuable and specific suggestions for pastors and church workers. Persons not in touch with the leftward trend in the churches will be amazed at the pacifist and socialist emphasis in this pamphlet.

CORRESPONDENCE

Norman Thomas on the Class Struggle

COMMENT in a letter from one of your correspondents in the July issue makes it seem important to me to state plainly my position on the class struggle.

I believe that the class struggle is one of the inescapable facts about human life in our present stage of capitalist organization. With all my heart and soul and mind and strength I desire a classless society in which there will be no more class struggle. Socialists in recognizing the existence of the class struggle do not mean that they like it. You cannot, however, get rid of the struggle by burying your head in the sand and denying that it exists. It is, in my judgment, impossible to explain historical development and the important social problems of our time in any other terms than terms of class struggle. Why else are Mooney and Billings in jail? Why is justice what it is in America? Why have we lagged so badly in the matter of unemployment relief if there is no class struggle?

The way to get rid of the class struggle is, of course, to get rid of the cause of it. This will only be done by the organized effort of the working class, and in the working class I include all those who do an honest day's work with brain or brawn, in farm, mine, factory, school or office. Unfortunately, a great many workers do not recognize themselves as workers or permit themselves to be divided by relatively minor interests so that they do not assert their real solidarity. Against some socialists I have diligently affirmed that the class struggle is not something that will automatically work itself out to a satisfactory result; that the ideal

of class solidarity is ethical even though it conforms to the deepest economic reality; that it is something that must be taught. I have also said that even some of an owning class may be able to transcend immediate class interest for the sake of themselves and their children, to achieve peace, freedom, plenty, and fellowship. I have also said that the greater the element of "revolution by consent," the happier mankind will be.

Finally I have protested against interpreting class struggle in terms of literal class war. That is to say, I wish to substitute other methods than the methods of war in carrying on this essential struggle to the end of the abolition of the class division in society. This is in line with my general opposition to the war method. Such opposition by no means implies absence of struggle. It implies methods of struggle that fall short of the wholesale violence of war. The Socialist Party believes that the organization of labor and effective political action may give an alternative to such war.

New York, N. Y.

NORMAN THOMAS

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Free Esperanto Texts

THE American Esperanto Institute has decided to distribute without charge one thousand small textbooks on the international language, Esperanto. The books will contain the entire grammar of the language, three exercises and a vocabulary of 3100 words. Those who are interested in receiving a free copy of the book have only to send in their request, accompanied by a two-cent stamp, to the American Esperanto Institute, Sherlock Hotel Building, Madison, Wisconsin.

International Summer School

AN international summer school will be held in the Ulmenhof Settlement at Berlin-Wilhelmshagen from August 15 to September 25. Study-circles devoted to discussions of the economic, political, and social conditions of Germany, Great Britain and the United States, will be conducted in both English and German. Recreational activities and visits to Berlin will be arranged. The fee, which includes lessons, classes, board and residence, is 150 German marks (\$35.63). All letters and applications for information should be addressed to: Volkshochschulheim Ulmenhof, Berlin-Wilhelmshagen, Bismarckstrasse 24, Germany.

PEACE AND SERVICE COMMITTEE. Philadelphia.

Yearly Meeting of Friends (Race St.)

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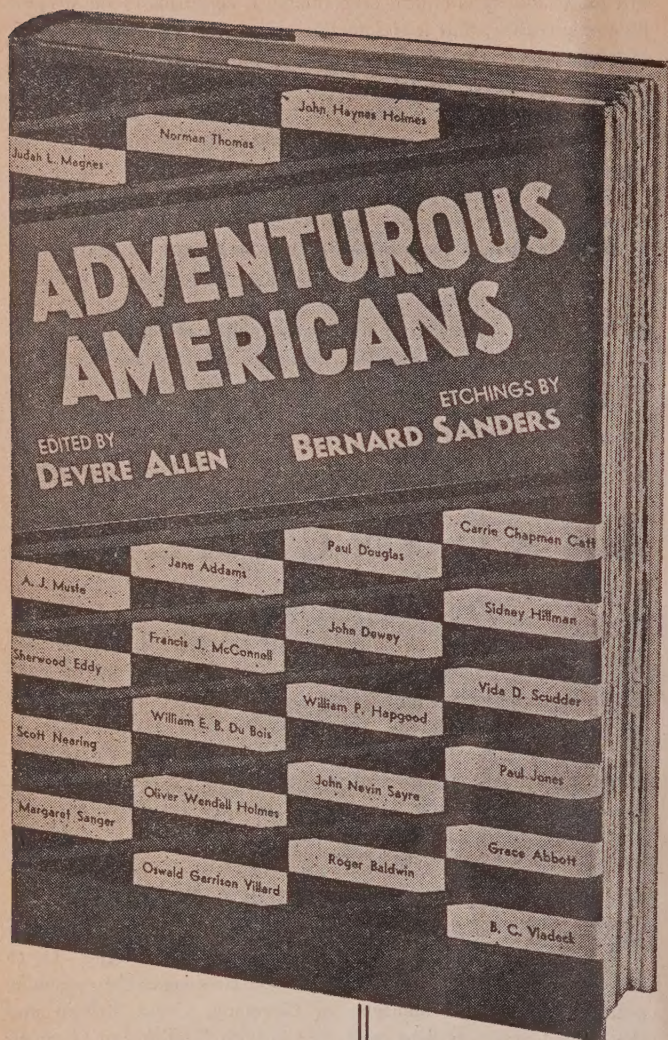
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If any of our readers have extra copies of our July, 1932, issue and wish to dispose of them, we would be grateful if they would return them to our office.

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